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BULLETIN OF AMERICA'S TOWN MEETING OF THE AIR

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How Can America Contribute to a
Free World?—A Report
to the People

Moderator, **GEORGE V. DENNY, Jr.**

Speakers

BROOKS EMENY
ALTHEA K. HOTTEL

CHESTER S. WILLIAMS
GEORGE H. WILSON

(See also page 12)

COMING

October 25, 1949

What Should the Free Peoples of the World
Do Now About the Atomic Bomb?

November 1, 1949

Are We Depending Too Much on Government
for Our General Welfare?

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Town Meeting

BULLETIN OF AMERICA'S TOWN MEETING OF THE AIR

GEORGE V. DENNY, JR., MODERATOR



OBER 18, 1949

VOL. 15, No. 25

How Can America Contribute to a Free World?—A Report to the People

Moderator Denny:

Good evening, neighbors. Tonight we are attempting to give you an account of our stewardship. A great deal has happened to our city of 28 representatives of American organizations and five members of our Town Hall staff since we left Idlewild Airport New York aboard the magnificent Pan American Boeing Clipper on the afternoon of June 25.

It was a great adventure, made possible by the coöperation of American World Airways, the American Broadcasting Company, the organizations represented on our seminar, and you, our sponsors who contributed your dollars for democracy. Throughout our trip, we were mindful of the fact that we were your representatives seeking to help you to better understand the world to the end that we, the people of the United States, might do our part to insure peace and prosperity for ourselves and our children.

We felt that we were on a very practical and serious mission; namely, to bring you as much sound information and understanding about the twelve nations that it was our privilege to visit as we could acquire in the time at our disposal.

We know that we cannot give you all this information at once, at Town Hall and every organization represented on our seminar will be better able to serve you in the days ahead as a direct result of this trip.

Of course, we visited only those countries in the free world, where we were denied access by their governments to the people of

Russia, Poland, and Yugoslavia. It's an unfortunate fact that one world of science is actually two worlds politically, and overpowering problem of this generation is to prevent an outbreak of armed conflict between these two worlds during the next decades.

When the members of our seminar speak to you tonight on subject, "How Can America Best Contribute to a Free World," they are giving you their best counsel on the free world's most urgent problem: how to maintain peace with freedom and individual well-being. The time is past when we can profit by such counsel as "let's try to understand the Russians." We understand them all right. We understand what the men in the Kremlin are doing with the Russian people and their satellites well enough, and what's more, they understand what they're doing. What we need to understand is what kind of world we, the American people, want and what we must do to achieve it.

Mr. Chester Williams, who was director of our first World Town Hall Seminar and general manager of our tour, will report to you first on Europe. Dean Althea Hottel, president of the American Association of University Women, will report on the countries we visited in the Middle East. Mr. Brooks Emeny, president of the Foreign Policy Association, will report on the Far East, and Mr. George Wilson of the American Farm Bureau Federation will give us an over-all report on agriculture. Most of the members of the seminar are here on the stage with us and will be ready to participate in our question period.

We'll hear first, now, from my able associate, who was generously granted a leave of absence by Ambassador Austin from his post in the United States Mission to the United Nations to organize and direct this seminar. It is particularly appropriate that he should be our speaker tonight on the subject on the eve of United Nations Week.

Mr. Williams participated in a minimum of three discussion meetings each week with opposite member groups in each of the twelve world capitals we visited, and now has in preparation a book on the subject *People to People Around the World*, which Harper's will publish just as soon as he can find time to finish it. Mr. Chester Williams. (Applause)

Mr. Williams:

First let me say, Mr. Denny, that it was a real privilege to have a share in your first Round-the-World Town Meeting. In Europe we met with the top leaders in London, Paris, Berlin, Vienna, Rome. The big question in our minds was: Can we win our two

dollar bet on making Europe a strong, self-supporting partner in a world struggle for freedom and well-being?

I think almost everybody agreed that the Marshall Plan had saved Europe from chaos and probably from falling under the spell of dictatorship. The record of the first year and a half looked good to us. Production up, in many cases already above prewar levels. Good crops. Inflation under control and great reconstruction of war damaged areas.

Most of all, the countries of Europe are really getting together planning their own recovery with American aid.

But—and this is a disturbing “but”—almost all the experts told us that Europe could not stand on its own feet without further aid by the end of the Marshall Plan in 1952. We wanted to know why not?”

The plain fact we found is that Europe is still hobbled by tight trade restrictions. They cannot keep stepping up production unless they can trade the increasing output. Everybody we met agreed that European states must pull down the barriers to trade among themselves and create a large free market in some sort of European union, if the goals of the Marshall Plan are to be attained.

In other words, we cannot win our bet on Europe unless the dream of a United States of Europe comes alive and rather quickly.

I think all of us were more impressed than ever with the strategic importance of Europe to our hopes of building a free and prosperous world outside the Iron Curtain. Here, more than 1,000,000 people live. Outside of the United States, they are the most productive. They have accumulated experience in modern technology. They have a big industrial plant, and they understand the ways of freedom.

If this great workshop and cultural center should fall under the domination of the Moscow imperialists, probably no place could be held against the Soviet drive for one Red world. Even though European states may be dangerously slow in learning to make the best use of our aid, we can't afford to get discouraged and pull back into our old isolationist shell. Our very survival as a free nation is at stake.

Of course, building up the productive power of Europe is not enough. That only makes Europe a more attractive prize to the rulers in the Kremlin. A reviving and uniting Europe must be able to defend itself—at least to hold the line—until help can reach them in the event of attack. We found most Europeans pretty nervous over their present military weakness.

Madame Tabouis, the brilliant French journalist, put it to us

this way. "If Russia's divisions should move today, their problem would not be to defeat the Western armies, but to *find* the

So next to building economic strength, we have the problem of building strong defenses against the world's largest standing army. We found Europeans exasperated, as they should be, by the necessity of diverting their energies to defense. But they recognize pretty clearly who makes that necessary.

Soviet propaganda stunts at the U. N. for peace pacts fool few Europeans. They know that the same Vishinsky, who brandishes the olive branch like a sword, has shouted "No" to every effort of the great majority of nations to get an effective system of control of atomic energy; "No" to the efforts to reduce and control of armaments with international inspection; "No" to organizing peace forces under the U. N. Charter.

The Atlantic Pact and the defense aid program have given confidence to most Europeans. We saw and heard many things that give hope for the future. Our policy of bold and constructive action has driven back the Communist forces trying to paralyze Western Europe in order to take control from within. Soviet declared against recovery has failed.

And here is something very important. The men in the Kremlin have had to show their mailed fist in the open especially in Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. The do-gooder mask of communism is fast slipping from the face of the Soviet police state. When this happens, Soviet power to take advantage of humanitarian impulses and aspirations for a better life is losing its punch.

I think this gives the West the initiative. We have helped form a shield of collective action in Europe against which Soviet propaganda thrusts can be broken. Now, as Dean Hottel and Brooks Emeny will no doubt agree, Europe and America have little time, not too much, but a little time, to test this shield in the Middle East and the Far East.

What are we after? We're after such things as more and better education, improved agriculture, efficient industry, freer trade and rising standards of living. In my judgment, if we continue to pit these against Soviet words, actions against carping criticism, who can doubt which standard will win the world. (Applause)

Moderator Denny:

Thank you, Chester Williams. When we started the organization of Town Meeting discussion groups ten years ago, no national organization was more active in the promotion of these discussion groups than the American Association of University Women. When we organized this seminar, it was natural that we should

to this association and invite their distinguished president, Dean Althea Hottel, Dean of Women at the University of Pennsylvania, to be with us.

Dean Hottel was one of the most diligent members of our seminar and I doubt if she missed a single meeting except for one time when she, Mrs. Buck, and Miss Strauss decided to add another country to their itinerary and visited Greece. But this makes her report on the Middle East even richer. We are happy to welcome to this platform Dean Althea K. Hottel of the University of Pennsylvania. (Applause)

Dean Hottel:

Mr. Williams has emphasized the importance of a co-partnership between the United States and Europe in the building of a free world. Mr. Emeny cannot help but relate the problems of the Far East to those of the Western nations and also to that critical area, the Middle East.

It is my opinion after visiting Turkey, Israel, Egypt, Lebanon, and Syria that one of the main arenas of internal struggle and a potential conflict among the great powers is in the Middle East. This is the meeting place of Europe, Africa, and Asia. It's the hub of the main water, land, and air communications of the world, and it has important natural resources, particularly oil.

One of the most significant and united blocs in the East today is composed of 250 million followers of Mohammed. While they are scattered over Asia and Africa, Arabia is the heart of this world-wide community of Moslems who have common political and economic, as well as spiritual, interests.

This summer we could not help but see that the conflicts of the Far East are felt in the nerve centers of India, of Pakistan, and even farther east. Until the last war, I think we might just as well be frank and say that we would doubt whether most of us Americans visualized the Middle East in terms of other than deserts and camels and sheiks and veiled women and the Holy Lands and oil.

We must know it as it actually is, and while the chief occupation is agriculture, the pattern of life is near starvation. There are illiteracy and high birth and death rates, illiteracy and economic exploitations. It has a poverty which has no parallel in Europe, for even clean water is a luxury, and the countries lack the essentials of education, of public health, and a free press and an informed public opinion. There is great disparity in wealth among individuals. And there are over a million homeless.

Mostly the whole region enjoys the outward symbols of

political independence, but it's a long, long way from the goal of genuine democracy and economic freedom. One of the significant developments is the emergence of its women and the responsibilities they are beginning to assume. They are doing serious prodding of the men, and I think we might take note of that. Israel has won a war over hostile Arab neighbors. We talk with refugees in the camps which this new nation has provided as a temporary haven for the oppressed Jews of the world. We saw the great experiments of the Weizmann Institute and irrigation projects in the Negeb. We observed the expanding educational programs and the efforts towards improving health and the agricultural projects. But we also saw Jewish Arab villages that had been destroyed and hundreds of thousands of Arabs homeless, jobless, and living in camps, too. This conflict between the Arabs and the Jews is still a number one political problem of the Middle East.

The United States has had a succession of policies in this region. We wanted to share in the oil fields, we saw to it that we could. We developed several outstanding colleges, and we had a century of religious and philanthropic activities.

We encouraged the recognition of Syria and Lebanon to be recognized as independent states.

Then, too, the Truman Doctrine has meant aid to Turkey for military and economic purposes. This has emphasized very clearly our interest in the Middle East as a military outpost.

Entirely independent of the merits of the case and the justification of the formation of a Jewish state, there is no doubt that the rapidity with which Israel was recognized by the United States has alienated the Arab world.

A few years ago, we were looked upon as the only foreign power whose motives were not purely selfish, but in no other part of the world does the United States stand in greater disrepute and condemnation than in the Middle East today.

Our policies should help to reduce this growing restlessness among these people, based on fears of aggression and deep-seated social maladjustments. We can do this by assisting in the development of hitherto untapped resources and the creation of economic prosperity, but with the welfare of the Middle East, as well as our own, primary in our thinking.

Saba Habashy Pacha, former Minister of Commerce and Industry of Egypt and now a member of the Senate, told us their need is aid through study and research rather than dollars and cents. In other words, it's making President Truman's Point Four program alive.

Thoroughgoing social change may be revolutionary. It's my conviction we should not oppose change but give it such leadership lies within our power. This could increase the possibility of moderate solutions rather than throwing the choice of people over to communism or fascism.

Our interests in the Middle East are not only oil, communications, and military strategy, but the struggle of a great and ancient people to ultimately express their will through democratic governments. The only dependable allies, in the long run, are free peoples, and we must encourage a democratic, prosperous, and independent Middle East. (*Applause*)

Moderator Denny:

Thank you, Dean Althea Hottel. Many of you heard our next speaker a few weeks ago on our program from Tokyo, but everyone agrees that Brooks Emeny, president of the Foreign Policy Association, is best qualified to speak on the countries of the Far East, as this was the part of the world on which he was an authority even before we took this trip. Town Hall is always happy to present Brooks Emeny on its platform. Mr. Emeny. (*Applause*)

Emeny:

I suppose one of the unique aspects of this program tonight for Town Hall is that the four principal participants will be in pretty general agreement. The only possible source of argument that I can see is as to which area of the world is the most important to America.

When it comes to Mr. Wilson and his discussion of agriculture, I believe he will agree that the problem of agriculture in the Far East is certainly the most difficult.

The threats to freedom in Europe and the Middle East, as indicated by Mr. Williams and Dean Hottel, are indeed even more acute in Asia. This vast area embracing India, Pakistan, Southeast Asia, China, the Philippines, Korea, and Japan contains 60 per cent of mankind. It is here that the final verdict as to whether we shall have a free world will be determined.

The primary threats to freedom in Asia are, of course, illiteracy, disease, overpopulation, and intolerably low standards of life. But of equal importance is the revolt of the masses of underprivileged which has come at a time when they are unprepared to assume freedom the responsibilities of statehood.

Momentous social changes have been taking place in Asia during the past half century under the impact of the West. World War II merely served to bring to a head the revolution long in

the making. The fact that the peoples of South Asia have inherited the institutions of democracy and freedom from their former colonial rulers is no guarantee that freedom can be maintained now under independence. Unless the livelihood of the masses is vastly improved, they can succumb to communist tyranny.

The cause of freedom is threatened, therefore, both from within and without. Poverty and ignorance are grist to the mill of Soviet propaganda. The very success of American policy in Western Europe, moreover, has served to divert Soviet pressure to weaker vacuum areas of the Far East.

The triumph of communist forces in China is a dramatic example of what can happen elsewhere. In India, we were clearly warned that unless a tolerable standard of life is achieved within the next 10 years the Soviets may take over. Similar fears were openly expressed in other lands of the area visited.

What can we Americans do about it?

On the economic side, assistance along the lines of the Point Four Program of President Truman is paramount. In no country in the Far East has an adequate basic survey of the undeveloped resources and needs of agriculture and industry been achieved. Such a survey recently completed in Iran, by a group of American experts, might well serve as a model for the nations of Asia.

Foreign aid and technical assistance will be of little avail unless they contribute to over-all planning and development.

In the second place, the economies of the nations of Asia must not be treated as separate units. The Japanese economic problem, for example, cannot be solved until it is clearly related to the entire economy of Asia and to normal channels of world trade.

In the third place, such aid as America can offer must be done without political strings, implying imperialist control. The masses of Asia recently freed from the old colonialism are very sensitive on this matter.

But of equal importance to American economic aid is the advancement of understanding of what this America of ours really is. We are being scrutinized most critically by the peoples of Asia. Those of us on this tour certainly discovered that to be the cause. Any evidence of undemocratic actions on our part or of preaching what we do not do in practice is widely noted.

It is a sad commentary, moreover, that the impressions of American life and institutions held in Asia are derived largely from Hollywood in what they describe as our "kiss-kiss, bang-bang" films.

We are thought of as a completely materialistic society, without spiritual force or high ethical standards.

Probably the most devastating phase, however, of the Soviet propaganda derives from the race problem in America. The position of our Negroes and our immigration restrictions based on color are resented by Asiatics and viewed as totally inconsistent with our proclaimed ideas of freedom.

One further point I should like to make. The peoples of Asia—much more than we in this country realize—place their hopes in the United Nations. They deeply deplore the attitude of the great powers in its regard. As we develop our Far East policy—and let me hope it is not going to take too long—it is important to our future position in Asia that such policy be likewise clearly designed to strengthen the United Nations.

The present visit to our shores of the great Indian Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru, attests in most eloquent terms to the regard in which America is held and the desire of Asiatics for mutual understanding.

No American foreign policy which is not based on the understanding by Americans of the peoples and nations of Asia can succeed. We are now winning the cause of freedom in Europe. If it is lost in Asia, it will be lost in the Middle East and in Europe as well. (*Applause*)

Moderator Denny:

Thank you, Brooks Emeny. Our last speaker is such a genial and warmly human personality, I'd like to tell you more about him when time permits. He was the chosen representative of the American Farm Bureau Federation, whose mission, as soon as he got to a city, was to make arrangements to visit near-by farms and farm communities. He was frequently generous enough to take several members of our group along with him.

Tonight, we have given him the enormous task of giving us an over-all report on agriculture in the countries we visited. I am very happy to present Mr. George H. Wilson of Clarksburg, California. Mr. Wilson. (*Applause*)

Mr. Wilson:

You have seen Europe through the eyes of a statesman, Mr. Williams; the Near East as seen by an educator, Mrs. Hottel; the Far East has been described by a student of world affairs, Brooks Emeny. Now, Mr. Denny says, "George, what's a farmer see on his same trip?" We saw many well-operated farms making a major contribution to a free world. But I will first describe practices retarding farm contribution and then point to the favorable factors we saw, followed by a few suggestions of a way America might aid.

THE SPEAKERS' COLUMN

CHESTER S. WILLIAMS—Mr. Williams, on leave of absence from the U. S. Mission to the United Nations, has served as director of the World Town Hall Seminar.

GEORGE H. WILSON—Mr. George H. Wilson of Clarksburg, California, is president of the American Farm Bureau Federation.

BROOKS EMENY—Mr. Emeny has been president of the Foreign Policy Association since May, 1947. He has degrees from Princeton and Yale and has also studied in Paris, London, Vienna, and Madrid.

Mr. Emeny was an instructor of government at Yale and an associate pro-

fessor at Cleveland College. He has been engaged in research and writing in Washington, D. C. He has written several books and been a member of many councils and conferences on government affairs.

ALTHEA KRATZ HOTTEL—Dean Althea K. Hottel, in addition to being Dean of Women at the University of Pennsylvania, is president of the American Association of University Women. In 1928, she received the \$1,000 Gifford Philadelphia Award for "high scholastic attainment; for invaluable research into youth problems and especially for her outstanding work among women students of the University of Pennsylvania."

In Europe, many still know hunger and malnutrition, but as we got well East we saw thousands of human beings knowing degrees of malnutrition, up to starvation itself. These were people similar to us intellectually, and in their desire for education, good home life, and opportunity. The farm resources of these countries are more than ample to maintain a high standard of living for all the people.

There is growing recognition among the leaders of the necessity of eliminating the restraints to production and substituting incentives to production. Still we found millions of tenant farmers exploited by nonresident landowners charging excessive rents and 50 to 75 per cent interest on cash advances.

There are practically no schools for farm youth. Debt was inherited and passed from generation to generation. One is born into a caste or stratum, never to change. The result is low production per man and per acre.

Education in these countries is for culture, not production. Investable cash goes to real estate and jewels. Progress demands some education and capital investment for production.

The oppressive practices are time-honored, complicated, and difficult to overcome. Still, in twenty-five years, we have seen the women of Turkey rise from servitude to equality. I doubt that any country in the world has ever advanced as rapidly in history as has this country of Turkey.

We saw the social welfare villages of Egypt. We were inspired by the rise in social consciousness of the Oriental women with their new-found freedoms. In Japan we saw land reform almost completed in two years. The new city buildings in the Orient are ultra-modern.

Now most rapid reforms follow violent upheavals. But I've great hope that the people can enjoy rapidly rising living standards in our generation and in peace.

We surely learned that great natural resources do not make education, homes, hospitals, recreation, and other good things of life. These things are by-products of a society and government which provide incentive to production. The producer must have the opportunity to educate himself for production, to choose his field of production, and to get the benefits of his production.

You asked, Mr. Denny, how can America contribute to a free world? America can contribute to a free world by practicing all the ideals of democracy in America. (Applause) I'd rather like to emphasize that. Mr. Emeny has done it so admirably, however, that we'll pass on.

We can aid in development abroad of effective agricultural research and extension services, including work among youth. We can encourage training of farm youth for off-farm work, to speed industrial development and relieve the pressure of population on the land.

International exchange of students, farmers, and other groups seeking knowledge and understanding will help.

I favor strengthening the office of Foreign Agricultural Relations and the USIS, to provide needed information and assistance in meeting international problems.

We should work for elimination of the irritating inefficiencies, continuously changing practices, and other needless barriers to trade.

We can encourage industrialization of underdeveloped areas and aid in the development of equipment adapted to the special needs of the various people. I believe that by pooling our ideas with others, when and if requested, we can contribute to a free world.

I see very little benefit in wholesale feeding or financing until the basic restraints to local production are met. I do believe we can do some selective feeding through schools preparing youth for production, or to workers on productive works.

I want to close with a word of thanks to Mr. and Mrs. Denny, Town Hall, and the Farm Bureau members who have made it possible for me to participate in this endeavor. Also to the Department of State, its Embassies, the host committees, the officials, and the folks in the highways and byways who helped us in our understanding of the other people of the world. We admire every country more for having shared a few days in its struggles and its successes. People must better understand people. (Applause)

Moderator Denny:

Thank you, George Wilson. Now, in order to give all the time possible to our question period in which the other members of the seminar, as well as the audience, are invited to participate, either asking questions or answering them, we'll skip our discussion period around the microphone and get ready for our question period here in this Departmental Auditorium of the Department of Labor. In the meantime, let's pause for a brief announcement.

Announcer:

You are listening to America's Town Meeting of the Air coming to you from the Departmental Auditorium in Washington, D. C. Before we continue with our question period, we have a message from the representative of the National Council of Negro Women, Mrs. Edith Sampson of Chicago, who has been elected president of the first World Town Hall Seminar. Mrs. Sampson. (*Applause*)

Mrs. Sampson:

The members of the Town Hall Seminar group, having finished this 33,000-mile journey by air and having visited twelve world capitals, are grateful to again be back in our native land.

This trip was conceived and made because we, as part of a free democracy, wanted to exchange opinion with other free peoples in other parts of the world. We met in free and open discussion with them. As a result we learned that there was no real fundamental differences between people and that all of us are looking for peace, happiness, and reasonable security.

This group traveled together. We constantly demonstrated how possible it is for peoples of different colors and points of view to live, work, and travel together in peace and harmony. The free world looks to America for leadership.

As one of the two Negroes among the 30 persons making up this Town Hall group and as the newly elected president of the seminar group, I am optimistic that the American leaders who have shared these experiences together will fully utilize through their members the valuable experiences that we have gathered. I know that they realize more than ever the importance of having a vital and working democracy at home if we are to lead the free peoples of the world on the road to peace and individual freedom. (*Applause*)

Announcer:

Thank you, Mrs. Sampson. Now for our question period, return you to Mr. Denny.

QUESTIONS, PLEASE!

Mr. Denny: Now, we've had four excellent reports from our principal speakers. I want to remind you at this time that here on the platform with us are the other members of the seminar who will be available to answer any questions you may want to put to them. They are Alfred Albert of the American Civil Liberties Union; Dr. Eugene S. Briggs, past president of the Lions' International; Mrs. Blair Buck, president of the General Federation of Women's Clubs; Mr. Robert Byfield of the New York Stock Exchange; Mrs. Grace Hare Frye, director of the Columbus Town Meeting; Mr. Homer Frye of the Columbus Better Business Bureau; Mr. Robert Hansen of the Fraternal Order of Eagles; Mr. Willard E. Givens of the National Education Association; Mr. Roger Kvam, representing our annual Junior Town Meeting; and Mrs. Sampson, who has just addressed you; Miss Sergis Stokowski of the National Student Association; Miss Anna Lord Strauss, president of the League of Women Voters; and Mr. Walter White, director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The other two people on this platform are our invited interpreter, Mr. Andre Kaminker, who was with us in London, Paris, Berlin, and Vienna, and Mr. Paul Wallum of Pan American Airways.

Now, we are ready for our questions. We're going to start with a gentleman over here on the fourth row.

Man: Mr. Williams. Don't you believe that it is necessary for the United States to also partially relax some of her trade barriers in order that Europe might regain some of her world markets?

Mr. Williams: Yes, I do. But I think that our trade barriers are not so tight compared to the tight kind of restrictions which are tying up trade in Europe.

Mr. Denny: Thank you. Next question over here.

Man: I have a question for Mr. Williams. Mr. Wilson, I mean. I'm sorry. Mr. Wilson, do you think that the large amount of farm machinery sent abroad under the Marshall Plan is serving a worthwhile purpose, or is it wasted due to lack of ability to use it?

Mr. Wilson: I think the answer to your first question would have to be, yes, that it has served a valuable purpose. On the other hand, we saw a great deal of very inefficient use of that machinery. As I said in my remarks, it is essential that the equipment must be particularly adapted to the needs of the people which it is to serve. That does not necessarily hold that our American equip-

ment does fill that need, although it may occasionally, for many of the people have to go from the sickle to the scythe, rather than from the sickle to the combine harvester. It's a problem of its own which needs solution.

Mr. Denny: Thank you, Mr. Wilson. Next question here.

Man: My question is for Dean Hottel. Can Israel provide homes for additional European DP's without encroaching on her neighbors and increasing Near East tensions?

Dean Hottel: That's a question that was a paramount one when we were in Israel. The answer, from the standpoint of the citizens of Israel, would be "Yes." The answer, from the standpoint of the Arabs, would be "No."

Mr. Denny: That's a good Town Hall answer. All right, the lady right here on the third row.

Lady: My question, also, is directed to Dr. Hottel. What reaction did you get abroad to the membership stand taken at the last April Convention of the American Association of University Women?

Dean Hottel: I was asked about it all over the world, and I was very glad that I didn't have to apologize for the stand, that it was clear cut and democratic. (*Applause*)

Mr. Denny: Thank you. I'm glad to see in the audience a former speaker on Town Meeting of about two weeks ago—Delegat Farrington of Honolulu. Delegat Farrington?

Mr. Farrington: Mr. Denny, I have a question for Brooks Emeny. Do you think America will contribute to world peace by recognizing the communist regime in China?

Mr. Emeny: A \$64 question! I am not prepared entirely to answer that. I think that it depends entirely upon how the regime itself seems to be developing. It is quite obvious that we do not intend immediately to recognize them, that we are standing back and waiting to see what developments may be.

I suspect that given the fact that the Soviet Union will be incapable of being of any direct aid, materially, to the Chinese people, we may have a very powerful weapon in our own hands in that we are able to give aid which may be of use in helping to win the Chinese people, by not subsidizing directly the communist regime.

Mr. Denny: Thank you. There's Dante Germino, a young man who appeared on a Junior Town Meeting of ours last spring. Dante, do you have a question for a member of the seminar?

Mr. Germino: Yes, sir, I would like to ask my very good friend Roger Kvam, with whom I had the pleasure of participating in the Junior Town Meeting last March, how he thinks, in the light

a previous travels, an expansion of the Student Exchange plans, already in effect in many colleges, would affect America's contribution to a free world.

Mr. Kvam: I think that expanding the student exchange program would help a tremendous deal in bettering our peace possibilities. I like to say that all the way around the world I was impressed that youth should be a primary point in our policy and not a secondary point. We could spend a lot of money on recovery and armaments, but if we don't have democratic youth with a democratic insight to take over those implements, why then all that money goes down the drain. (Applause)

Mr. Denny: Thank you. Now, that we have pulled the seminar to action, here is Mr. Robert Hansen of the Fraternal Order of Eagles who has a question, or rather a comment.

Mr. Hansen: Mr. Denny, perhaps it's both. Since all four speakers agree that we should practice what we preach in recognition of basic human rights such as "charity should begin at home," I would like to ask you, Mr. Denny, or any one of the four speakers, whether it's true that in this city tonight the Town Hall speakers' group was denied service at a hotel because one member of the party was colored and, if it is true, to suggest that it is this sort of thing that gives the Kremlin its best headlines for tomorrow. (Applause)

Mr. Denny: Would any one of the speakers like to comment? Jean Hottel?

Jean Hottel: I should like to say that Mr. Hansen's question is entirely true. We were denied the opportunity to have dinner together for the reason he said.

Mr. Denny: Any other comments?

Mr. Wilson: I would just like to comment that we were denied the right to have dinner together in the hotel of our choice, but we went to another hotel and did have dinner together in one of Washington's best hotels. (Applause)

Mr. Denny: Thank you. Now, let's get back to the audience here in a minute. Start with a question from the gentleman right here in the center of the hall.

Man: Mr. Williams. Will the plan to send American technicians to Europe make a practical contribution to a free Europe? And where are they most needed, and how are they to be recruited?

Mr. Williams: I don't think that Western Europe is the place where American technicians are primarily needed. They are needed in the undeveloped areas, though we have already, through the Marshall Plan, contributed a great deal by having certain specialists available to deal with the adaptation of the material

aid being sent. Now there's no sense in sending the aid unless it is technically applied efficiently.

Mr. Denny: Thank you. The young lady over here, please.

Lady: My question is for Brooks Emeny. How can we contribute to a free democratic America so that we will be in a position to contribute to a free democratic world?

Mr. Emeny: Well, again I think that's a very good question. I would say that there is no one who has been of greater help to the seminar group in this regard than Mrs. Edith Sampson. We've gone about the world.

There's much that we have still to do, naturally, to develop the principles of freedom which we claim that we stand by in theory at least, and to reinforce thereby the democracy which has now become the principal democracy unnoticed before the world.

Mr. Denny: Thank you. The lady in the back of the hall has a question for a seminar member.

Lady: I have a question for Miss Strauss. Were you impressed with the extent and the degree of citizen understanding of the United Nations in the countries of Europe and Asia that you visited?

Miss Strauss: I think that it is important that there be a much wider understanding of the United Nations among the people all over the world, because only if there is real popular support can the United Nations be successful. I would like to add that in many of the countries that we visited there is a very high degree of illiteracy, and with that it makes it much more difficult to give to a large proportion of the people a real understanding of international events and of the United Nations and of their relation to it.

Mr. Denny: Thank you. The gentleman here in the middle has a question.

Man: My question is to Dean Hottel. Do you suggest that we disregard the merits of Israel's case in dealing with the Arab states?

Dean Hottel: I would think we would be very unjust if we disregarded the merits of any aspect of that case. This is a deep problem. It goes back a long, long time and there are many aspects to it that are very difficult. I do feel that we would have to look justly on both sides of this situation and work as Dr. Buncick had to do to reach some form of an amicable solution.

Mr. Denny: Thank you, and now the lady there in the center.

Lady: Mr. Denny, I have a question for Mr. Walter White. In your opinion, Mr. White, how important is Prime Minister Nehru in keeping democratic governments alive in Asia?

Mr. White: I believe that Pandit Nehru is the man upon whom

the future of Asia and, perhaps, of the world depends. If Pandit Nehru's government should fail or he should be assassinated—had three attempts were made on his life while we were in India—is my conviction that India would fall in a briefer period than in years into the hands of the Communists; all Asia would fall, and then Russia would be up at the Philippines and Hawaii—a short bomber's hop from the United States of America.

I believe that it is right for us to give aid to Europe. But I think we've made a grievous mistake, which we have but little time to correct, in not realizing that our future depends as much on Asia as it does on Europe itself. I want to add that one of the greatest difficulties that Pandit Nehru is experiencing, in convincing the people of Asia that they should cast in their lot with America, is the mistreatment of dark-skinned people in the United States because their skins are dark. (Applause)

Mr. Denny: Thank you, Walter White. Now we have another member of our seminar, Mr. Alfred Albert.

Mr. Albert: I'd like to ask Mr. Brooks Emeny a question. What effect does the United States policy which supports European imperialistic desires for colonies have on our relationships with the countries of the Far East?

Mr. Denny: That's a good question for the president of the Foreign Policy Association. Mr. Emeny.

Mr. Emeny: Well, I would deny that United States policy does support imperialist colonial policies of European countries today. I think that is a misinterpretation, but insofar as it is interpreted as being the case, and it certainly is in many parts of Asia, it works very strongly against our own best interests.

Mr. Denny: Thank you, Mr. Emeny. Now we have a question from Dr. Briggs, representing the Lions, who is president of Phillips University in Oklahoma. Dr. Briggs?

Dr. Briggs: Mr. Wilson, we've heard much of the have and have not nations. I wonder, after your experience of traveling around the world, if you have a comment to make that would clear up the idea of the severe distinction between the two.

Mr. Wilson: My visit in India, Pakistan, and those countries was a great pleasure to me in that I had previously assumed that the question of poverty in those countries was an exceedingly difficult one in that there were not the natural resources there to maintain a high standard of living for the people. Any one of my friends at home who is accustomed to the kind of farming that we do would give a right arm to have a chance to farm in that kind of country. It's the most marvelous opportunity for the

production of food that I know of in the world, and it is not lacking in natural resources.

Consequently, just as quickly as we can reorganize that part of the country for production, we can have ample food for all the people in that part of the world in a very short period of time.

Mr. Denny: Thank you, Mr. Wilson. Now, we have a question from Mrs. Blair Buck, president of the General Federation of Women's Clubs.

Mrs. Buck: It's addressed to Mr. Chester Williams. He spoke about a European defense plan. I'd like very much to know where Germany fits into that European defense plan.

Mr. Williams: Well, Mrs. Buck, I think that the victims of German aggression view with a good deal of anxiety the revival of German production and power. If the temptation to use German potential military force is a part of Europe's defense, or even seriously thought about, I think most Europeans would tremble with fear.

They remember the Stalin pact of friendship with Hitler, which set off World War II. Even Germans who want to take the democratic path said to us "Don't rearm Germany. We want no more swaggering officers over us." I think it's better to keep the weapons of defense in the hands of dependable democrats.

Mr. Denny: Thank you. A question over here on the third row.

Man: Mr. Brooks Emeny. The United States contributes millions of dollars annually to make a free world. Could not more of that money be spent in encouraging the cooperation of Russia rather than discouraging it?

Mr. Emeny: I'm not sure that I understand your question. Do you mean by the use of money sent to Russia itself?

Man: We send no money to Russia; we send all our money to countries who oppose Russia.

Mr. Emeny: Of course, we did, under the Marshall Plan, proposed to give full aid to Russia, which was refused. The basis of the Marshall Plan was aid to all countries.

Mr. Denny: Brooks, let's ask the young man how he proposes to aid Russia.

Man: Well, I believe we should do a little more work on Yugoslavia and Poland and Czechoslovakia.

Mr. Denny: Well, that's all right. That's all right. Thank you. Here's a lady down here on the front row who has a question for a member of the seminar.

Lady: I have a question for Mr. Walter White. Mr. White, is it true that working people of Asia and Africa are not as efficient

as dependable as those living in the United States and Europe?
Mr. White: Yes, I think that undoubtedly is true, but it is a mistake to believe that they are inefficient because they live in Asia or Africa instead of the United States. It's simply that they can't have enough vitamins, enough calories, in their diet. If you could fail to put gasoline in your automobile, it wouldn't run very far. Much of the so-called inefficiency is due to insufficient diets, to malnutrition, to low standards of living. Raise those standards of living and, as Mr. Wilson suggests, you could have just as great efficiency and production as you have anywhere else in the world.

Mr. Denny: Thank you. The lady in the center there.

Lady: This is for Dean Hottel. Do you think it will be possible for Israel to live in harmony with her Arab neighbors?

Dean Hottel: Well, we met with Minister of Foreign Affairs of Israel and he said it was one of the primary problems which they had, but they were going to try.

Mr. Denny: This other lady has a question for a member of the seminar.

Lady: Dr. Givens, please. Do you find the nations you visited aware of their responsibility to understand the United States just as it is our responsibility to try to understand them?

Dr. Givens: Yes, I think they were quite aware of that and are attempting to meet it.

Mr. Denny: Thank you, Dr. Givens. Now while our speakers prepare their summaries of tonight's discussion, here's a special message of interest to you.

Announcer: Our special message tonight is to remind you that the publisher of Town Meeting Bulletin, the American Education Press, has bound together copies of all twelve of our Round-the-world Town Meetings in one convenient volume which you may obtain by sending one dollar to Town Hall, N. Y. 18, N. Y.

This bound volume contains a complete transcript of the meetings held in London, Paris, Berlin, Vienna, Rome, Ankara, Tel Aviv, Cairo, Karachi, New Delhi, Manila, and Tokyo. Copies of individual Town Meetings as well as tonight's program may be obtained by specifying which program you want and sending your request with ten cents for each program to Town Hall, N. Y. 18, N. Y. Indicate the programs you desire by naming the cities in which the programs originated.

Do not send stamps, and allow at least two weeks for delivery. Now we return you to Mr. Denny.

Mr. Denny: Instead of our summaries tonight, we lengthened our question period and allowed time to tell you about next week's

and future programs. But, first, I want to thank our speakers and representatives of our Town Hall World Seminar for the magnificent coöperation here tonight, and the more than two months we traveled together around the world.

Your work will continue to bear fruit for many years to come and I hope that we may have the opportunity of taking many more adventurous trips together to other parts of the world.

In this atomic age, the free peoples of the world must present a united front against the insidious and aggressive forces of totalitarianism while they are daily practicing the divide-and-conquer techniques to destroy and divide us.

Our weekly Town Meeting will provide a symbol of our unity of purpose until we meet again. We hope that you and your organizations will join us around your radios each week at this hour and particularly next week, when our subject will be: *What Should the Free Peoples of the World Do Now About the Atomic Bomb?*

Our speakers will be four specialists on atomic power: Mr. William L. Laurence of the *New York Times*; Mr. William Bradford Huie, journalist and lecturer; Dr. Louis Ridenour of the University of Illinois, and Congressman Henry Jackson, Democrat of Washington.

The following week we will discuss the question that seems to be pressing on all sides in every part of the world: *Are We Depending Too Much on Government for Our General Welfare?*

The next week our topic will be: *Should the Communist Party Be Outlawed Now?*

The program originally planned in coöperation with *Page One* magazine for October 25 has been postponed to a later date.

Once again I want to extend our warm thanks to our State Department, particularly to Assistant Secretary of State and Public Affairs Mr. George Allen and his entire staff around the world; the U. S. Information Service for facilitating arrangements for our visit to each world capital, and we'd like to add particularly our grateful thanks to the Department of Defense for our visit to the three occupied areas, and particularly to Captain Cranston of the Public Relations Office of the Department of Defense.

We want especially to express our appreciation to the Voice of America which continues to broadcast your Town Meeting almost every country throughout the world.

We invite you to be with us next week and every week to the sound of the Crier's Bell.